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MONTHLY RETROSPECT OF POLITICS.

AT the conclusion of the last month we looked forward to the present with an indescribable sensation of mixed hopes and fears. After the great potentates (whose meeting at Erfurth, seemed like the conjunction of two planets hostile to human repose) had separated, to put into execution the plans there meditated, we thought ere this that the mighty and full-charged machine would have exploded. Yet whether these conjunctions be favourable or foreboding to the best interests of humanity, whether such machines be really infernal, or fraught with blessings to mankind, it is, perhaps, premature, peremptorily to decide. We live in a region of clouds, situated far below the clear and serene observatory of the philosophic historian, who will be enabled to form a better judgment of the real nature of such events, by having observed their consequences. The fate of Europe is still in suspense. Schemes big with the fate of Empires, require time to develope. But though the grand decision of the political liberty of Europe is still undetermined, much has occurred worthy of reflection. Portugal has changed masters; Spain still makes vigorous and persevering efforts at emancipation; Austria seems to have had a wish to prepare for some new convulsion; Turkey rouses its mighty resources; Russia perseveres in the scheme traced by its coadjutor in the west; Sweden still attempts resistance; England calls out with increasing importunity for inquiry and justice; Ireland is SILENT. All form a group to strike us with awe and astonishment; each figure presents itself in a new attitude, equally capable of arresting our attention.

PORTUGAL.

When this country had been liberated from the yoke, we were led to expect important changes in its internal arrangements. A change has taken place, great, important and impressive, a change of masters. The English have expelled the French, and assumed their place. General Hope succeeds to Junot, and British soldiers are employed in place of their predecessors, as arguments in the hands of the military ruler of the day, to demonstrate the blessings derived to the people from their present government. That the people have benefitted by the change there is little doubt. The cool, systematic temperament of their present governors is, certainly, more acceptable to the feelings of a haughty, though indolent nation, than the domineering vanity of their former masters. They are not plundered, nor

wantonly insulted; but as a nation holding a place in the great political commonwealth of Europe, or even as a government possessed of certain rights which itself alone ought to regulate, its good effects may be problematical. "Woe" says the Eastern proverb "to the nation in whose concerns foreigners interfere." It ceases at once to be an independent nation; it becomes a province of the officious ally. The people of Portugal themselves feel sensible of this, and the expression of this sentiment has been discovered to us by the very means used to repress it. On the confirmation of articles at Cintra, a jealousy appeared in the protected against the protectors, arising from a feeling of national honour. The hoisting of a standard gave vent to it; it expressed itself, and the cause of offence was removed.

It might have been a mistake, an oversight, a transient ebullition of national vanity at the moment of triumph: let it have been what it may, it was corrected. The English marched into Lisbon; we might have said, took possession of it. A military edict, to prevent disturbances, was published by the English General. This too, might be tolerated. Previous to the embarkation of the French, and their adherents, it might have been a means of preventing the probable consequences of mutual irritation, between them and the Portuguese. We pass over the objection of the English General obtruding himself in place of the national Executive. The government might have been, as yet, unorganized; and the circumstances of the moment might have required a sacrifice to imperious necessity. But when the French and their adherents were removed, when all the danger was over, why still continue the coercion? Why, when the disordered part was eradicated, still apply the blister or the cautery? Why not permit the constitution to recover its pristine vigour and sanity, by the natural action of its internal agents? Good reasons, no doubt, can be alledged for all this; good, indeed, and imperious they must be, to prove the necessity of a system which has already produced some bad effects, and which forebodes still worse. The people are discontented; and not only a part of the English force in Portugal, the whole of which is so necessary elsewhere, is left behind, as a species of police officers, either to controul the nominal government, or under them to controul the people; but a part of the armament at Corunna is detached from the theatre of glory to this *honourable service*. We are told there is an English and French party in Portugal. It was to be hoped that the article of the convention which secured Portuguese delinquents from the vengeance of their country was framed to prevent this; their persons are saved, but their political existence still remains. The bad effects of this coercive protection is more extended. The Convention of Cintra cannot have raised our character with the Spanish Patriots. Our subsequent measures must have lowered it much. The former must lead them to suspect a dereliction of the interests of our friends, the latter can scarcely fail of inducing them to attribute unworthy motives to us in so doing. The caution with which they have received our hasty strides to alliance and support will encrease, suspicion take place of new-formed confidence, and the intriguing spirit of our enemy will not let slip the opportunity of fomenting discord. In every court of Europe we may expect to hear our hollow-hearted friendship with Portugal alledged as an incontrovertible proof of the ambitious spirit that actuates our councils. "Not content," it will be said, "with usurping the empire of the sea, these haughty islanders wish to establish a territorial empire on the continent of Europe, as they have already done in Asia, by arrogating their right of dominion over their allies, by treating as subjects those who received them as friends." It is, however some consolation, that the English nation is wholly free from the guilt or the imprudence of this transaction. The Ministers have taken upon themselves the whole responsibility. Occuring during the recess of parliament; the nation could not express its sentiments; and though the appointed time of assembling that body took place during these occurrences, the ministers either thinking them not sufficiently important to demand any

extraordinary notice of the high court of the nation, or depending on their ability to supply the proper remedy, have postponed the assembling of it till the usual time of meeting. When it does meet, we trust the voice of the people will be heard.

SPAIN.

The North of Spain is now the focus of Political speculation. Much depends on the transactions there. Should patriotism baffle the designs of ambition, we do not cherish the idle hope that the newly formed dynasty in France will be annihilated, but it may be confined within its proper limits; should the patriots fail in their efforts (and sincere and fervent as must be our wishes for the success of such a cause) we see sufficient reason to fear for the worst. The French armies, notwithstanding the superiority of numbers opposed to them, have been able to maintain their defensive position in Navarre and Biscay, and even at times to make successful advances. The Spaniards seem to be cautious of hazarding a decisive battle against troops formidable even after defeat. They seem to wish to accustom their raw levies to the sight of their opponents, and to waste the enemies' forces by a species of harrassing blockade. Had they been able to carry such a plan into effect previous to the arrival of the long expected succours from France, it might have been decisive, but the opportunity is now lost. Numerous reinforcements headed by Bonaparte himself, have crossed the Pyrenees. Had we no other testimony of their arrival his presence would have been a convincing proof of it. It is well known, that where he appears, he is attended by an overpowering host. We find him now surrounded by a crowd of officers almost grey in the arts of war. Among the rest we notice Junot, (or as he is titled by the agents of the British ministry, the Duc d'Abrantes.) The sentiments of the French ruler, respecting his conduct in Portugal, may be best judged of by his so soon again appearing in a confidential situation in his train. He no doubt attends to add his local knowledge to the military skill of his fellows. The effects of his appearance are already evidenced by the commencement of offensive operations. General Blake after an obstinate resistance has been forced to yield to superior numbers and discipline. But though he has yielded his post, he has not forfeited his honour. The obstinate resistance made by his soldiers, evince, we trust, the true spirit of Liberty. If the spirit be fostered by the acting government, there are yet hopes of final success. But if, actuated by the narrow policies of an exclusive party, they neglect the people, if freed from the controul of monarchy, they attempt to erect an aristocracy, the people, sensible of no change, but that of many masters for one, will not be ardent in the cause; their spirit will quickly be damped. When they have lost the consciousness of self-importance, they have lost the spring which enables them to act against the mighty force that presses on them. The supreme central Junta has not yet had time to develope its views; its members do not as yet know, nor are they known to each other; the only important public act is the nomination of a commissioner, intended either as a check, or an adviser to their generals. The difference between Cuesta and Blake, may have suggested the utility of such an officer. The independence which from the nature of their service the generals have hitherto enjoyed, may require to be curbed. A link of communication may be wanting between the armies and the executive; a nerve to guide the hand by the dictates of the head. Yet it is much to be feared that a haughty nobility, who have once tasted the sweets of power, will not readily participate it with the people. If they have the magnanimity to sacrifice private passions, and private interest to the public welfare, they will prove themselves worthy to direct the energies of a people resolved to be free.

The effect produced by the succession of revolutions in Europe, on South American settlements, has not been duly estimated. It is well known that the Spanish colonies in the new

world, are linked to the mother country by a very slender chain. They pay to her the kind of homage given by the Satraps to the Kings of Persia, during the decline of that empire, acknowledging obedience and paying tribute more from a motive of interest, than a feeling of duty. The chief men, there, in hopes of raising themselves a step higher in the scale of ambition, may seize the present opportunity of separating themselves, and forming a distinct and independent government. Such a proceeding would be a deadly blow to Spain. Even at present, though supported by the mines of Peru, they are in want of every thing requisite to the organization of an army. They look to England for arms, clothes, and money. And this latter power now feels herself obliged to disgorge the treasure seized at the commencement of the Spanish war, in her predatory attack on the four frigates; this is, with respect to Spain, fulfilling the strictest rules of poetical justice; though as to ourselves, we have some reason to complain. The booty enriched individuals; the subsidy is extracted from the pockets of the people, on whom falls the penalty incurred by the ill advised rapacity of the minister, who devised the measure.

Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.

If the current of wealth from America be stopped or diverted, where are they to turn for resources? Of Brazil, since the removal of the Portuguese Court thither, we hear nothing. A change of measures would have profitted that government more than a change of place. The next month in all probability must decide the fate of Spain. We have already expressed our fears on their account. The circumstances that have since occurred have contributed but little to their removal. If they could not expel 40,000 men, how can they resist the hosts that will now attack them? Yet we cannot but admire the high spirit which actuates them in this trying emergency. For indeed, we should not wish to ascribe the resistance of Spain to any other agency than to the virtue and valour of her people; we should *not* wish to ascribe it, even in part, to the monachism of that country (too long its real *monarchy*) raising an ignorant and superstitious mass, in the defence of those revenues which they dread to lose by revolution; and perhaps, in some degree, to Great Britain prompting this resistance, with the immediate view of engaging the attention of the enemy, and the ultimate prospect of an El Dorado in Spanish America. No, be the resistance ascribed wholly to the virtue and valour of the Spaniards, and to the public spirit of Britons*.

RUSSIA.

This power still continues to pursue the same path which it had followed before the meeting at Erfurth. Its union with France has been cemented; and it appears to employ more vigour in the attainment of its political objects. Whether any new project has been devised to extend its territory or second the views of the

* While the above was putting to press, intelligence from Spain has arrived, of a nature very different indeed from what the sanguine expectation of many has looked upon as certain, and what has been the ardent wish of all. Bonaparte has rushed down from the Pyrenees with an army whose numbers we as yet know not of, but by their effects; and has swept away the patriot forces with the impetuosity of an irresistible torrent. The same accounts informed us that the French were at Burgos and Valladolid. Their intention evidently seems to be to prevent the British forces under Sir John Moore in the South, from forming a junction with Sir D. Baird's army in the North, and if possible to cut them to pieces separately. Blake's army is dispersed. From Castanos and Palafox we hear nothing. Sir John Moore is at Salamanca with a part of his troops, whilst the rest are following by different courses, as the badness of the roads, and the difficulty of procuring sustenance permit. Sir D. Baird is at Astorga. The transports are ordered to remain at Coruuna, to be ready for the worst. Such is the scene at present, how it may change before we again address the public, no one (but ONE) can tell. We can only express our wishes that the torrent may be checked; by what means, we dare not offer even a conjecture.

French Emperor is yet uncertain. We are told of armies moving to the frontiers of Turkey; that the dismemberment of some of the northern provinces of this empire, may have constituted one of the topics of deliberation at Erfurth, we can readily believe: but we have not as yet grounds from which to draw conclusions.

SWEDEN.

Sweden still maintains an unequal contest with her powerful neighbour. If late accounts be true, which however are not yet fully confirmed, she has experienced a signal defeat. A predatory war is still carried on in the frontiers of Norway, attended with various success, but with few political consequences.

TURKEY.

This nation displays a spirit of reform, originating within itself, and therefore adopted with less danger and greater probability of success: yet, as the change depends on a single man, in the precarious office of vizier, whose life is so often at the mercy of an unruly and incensed soldiery, there is much reason to doubt of the ultimate success of his bold attempt. The Janizaries though depressed must be a formidable body; and the offers made to them of exchanging the rights of their order for a private recompense may yet fail: for they must be sensible that by the dissolution of their body they not only lose their importance in the state; but also surrender the only means of receiving the pecuniary provision granted them as a compensation. The means employed to depress them by forming another body of the same nature is but a temporising expedient: the new levy may for a time be obedient to the Minister, if he be a man of ability; but they will soon know their own strength, and prove more formidable because better trained than their predecessors. The other changes are trivial. The introduction of the European tactics will not be of any great service: in the practice of customs alien to their ancient habits and prejudices, they must be inferior to the European soldier, in whom they have been engrafted, by long use. The Romans improved their armies by the imitation of foreign countries, but it was not a servile imitation which copies without judgment; they did not overturn their old system, from an innovating thirst after novelty, but incorporated on it, those practices which experience had shown could be advantageously applied. With respect to the internal government, the change of tactics is unimportant; in a military despotism, it matters little whether the many-headed monarch rule by the bayonet or the sword. At the present moment, however, the vigorous conduct of Mustapha Bairactar may serve to ward off the impending blow that threatens from the north and west. He has reduced the Pachas to obedience; he has appeased the Servian chief; he has punished the murderers of their former sovereign; he has introduced order in place of confusion, and obedience in place of anarchy. But degenerate as is the Ottoman government, it is to be feared that nothing but revolution or conquest will work a change by which the situation of the great mass of the people will be ameliorated.

AUSTRIA.

The views of this power seem not to be clearly understood. Before the meeting at Erfurth, Francis was generally thought to be in a high degree inimical to the French emperor. But, though he did not attend in person at that meeting, his intentions appear to be so far pacific as to authorize the removal of the greater part of the French troops collected to watch his motions, to the new theatre of war; yet, his acquiescence in the schemes of his powerful neighbours seems to be the result rather of sullen inability than cordial co-operation. Of this the French Government appears to be sensible. In all the public declarations of Bonaparte or his ministers a great degree of caution and reserve in respect to the situation of this Empire is observable. Scarcely yet recovered from the dreadful blow received at Ulm and repeated at Austerlitz, aggression on the part of Austria would be rashness. But it is not improbable, that the present military preparations which have evidently excited much suspicion and distrust, are made not so much, for present service, as

to be ready to take advantage of any favourable combination of events which may hereafter occur. But let it be remarked, that such conduct might also terminate in utter ruin, and final extinction of her empire. Let her be lessoned by Ulm and Austerlitz. Let her consolidate within, by good government, and not risque her existence, by speculating upon new Coalitions.

The example of Spain may prove that the only effectual spring of resistance, the only pure source of independence rests in the people; Bonaparte has domineered over Kings and Emperors; he has been checked by a people contending for freedom.

AMERICA.

The embargo still continues in this country, nor can any change be expected till the meeting of Congress. The election of the new president will then be a trial of strength between the parties. In consequence of the interruption of communication between the two countries, our knowledge of its internal situation must be very imperfect. We have however reason to suppose that the contending parties are nearly balanced, and that their mutual dissensions are every day increasing to a higher degree of animosity. But dissensions like these show an energy and superabundance of life in the body politic. They give employment and vent to the busy and active spirit of man, and like the agitations of the ocean, which prevent it corrupting, they keep the mass from that stagnation, which forebodes the decay and death of liberty. *Mens agitat molem.* "But the subjects of the Byzantine empire," says Gibbon, "who assume and dishonour the names both of Greeks and Romans, present *a dead uniformity of abject vices*, which are neither softened by the weakness of humanity, nor animated by the vigour of memorable crimes." Let modern nations dread such a situation rather than political dissensions, which, in reality, tend to the full developement of all their powers.

ENGLAND.

The insulting answer given by the English minister to the demand for inquiry made by the city of London has been attended with effects very different from the fond hopes of those who framed it, but highly worthy of the spirit of liberty with which every English subject should be animated. Meetings have been held in several counties, and addresses sent in, all expressing, still more strongly than that which had been the mark of royal disapprobation, the feeling of injured honour which pervades the country. Irritating as the answer has been, it will be of use. It will teach ministers that the feelings of a great and free people are not to be trifled with; that the public mind, so long paralyzed with false terrors has resumed its energy; that there is a bond of union between every part of the kingdom, which, like a system of nerves branching from the head and extending its ramifications to the remotest extremity, will cause an injury done to one part to be felt and resented by the whole. No answer has as yet been received to any of the county addresses, unless the frigid and laconic notification made by the minister of home affairs, to the deputation from Middlesex, deserves that name*. But though they may not be answered, they will be felt.

The court of inquiry is at present sitting on Sir H. Dalrymple, and the other officers. His conduct and address to the court will tend to diminish, though by no means to remove the odium excited against him. While he endeavours to defend the convention itself, he openly imputes to Sir A. Wellesley at least an equal share of responsibility, which the latter officer endeavours ineffectually to shake off. Considered in this light as tending to disemburthen one general from the too great share of blame which was with such artful and persevering industry heaped upon his shoulders, and to destroy the false gloss with which the conduct of another general had with equal art and industry been varnished, the court of inquiry may be of use; but if this is the *inquiry* held out in the answer to the citizens of London, if by this *the character of the country*, and *the honour of the royal arms* is to stand or fall; if this is to be the court of ultimate jurisdiction; if a military tribunal is to decide on

* See Official Documents.

questions affecting the constitution, great indeed will be the insult; degraded the people that will not deeply resent and thoroughly avenge it. Yet under such circumstances as those (and we cannot but again remark it) the parliament has been prorogued. A case so novel, so unexpected, so important was not thought sufficient to claim a present and thorough investigation; but, if it is to be laid before the only tribunal which can constitutionally inquire into and decide upon it in all its parts, it is to be passed to in the regular routine of business, as one of the usual orders of the day.

IRELAND.

The disturbances which have so long disgraced the southern counties of this kingdom, still exist; every provincial paper contains a catalogue of nocturnal depredation, detection and punishment: yet neither the activity of the magistrates, the severity of the laws, nor the rigour of punishment check the evil. Would it not be time to try other measures; to make the experiment, by substituting conciliation for severity, whether the spirit of turbulent lawlessness be a propensity inherent in the national character, or ingrafted into it by an injudicious system of legislation? These melancholy and reiterated transgressions of the public peace, have given the Catholic clergy an opportunity of coming forward as peace-makers. Their prelates have gone through the most disturbed districts, inculcating the doctrines of peace and submission to the constituted authorities. Does the Protestant clergy follow the example? Does the archbishop imitate the example of his spiritual brother, and aid him in preaching the doctrines common to Catholic and Protestant, the doctrine of peace on earth, good-will towards man? Do the beneficed clergy, each in his sphere second the pious labours of his superior? Do those who hold the office of magistrate, perform the office of protector as well as prosecutor? We doubt not that they do all this: we cannot but suppose, that though no public mention is made of their performance of these duties, for which they are so liberally paid, content with the approbation of their own hearts, they unite their private exertions with those of their Catholic brethren. The Protestant clergy have much in their power; they can do much to tranquillize the country; the mode adopted to pay them is the chief cause of grievance; the manner of collection, the principal part of that grievance. This lies solely with themselves. Much, therefore, does it become them, in the present crisis, when every man makes some sacrifice for the preservation of the state, to yield in part from their right, rather than to increase the outcry by a rigorous, though legal exaction of their full emoluments.

The inferior Protestant clergy have lately attracted some share of parliamentary notice. An act has been passed last Sessions for the amelioration of their state. The Archbishop of Dublin seconds the intention of the legislature, by recommending, at his triennial visitation, the beneficed clergy in his diocese to pay the full salary to their curates. We doubt not that he enforces his precept by his example; and that by devoting some of his princely revenue to this work of benevolence, he proves that he does not impose burthens on others of which he declines to take a share. The state of the clergy, Protestant, Catholic and Dissenting is capable of much amelioration; policy as well as justice requires it to be done.

Amid all the din of arms, and the disputes attendant on military affairs, the philanthropist has to regret that the attention of statesmen is too seldom turned to affording practical relief to the burthens of the people. If both the rulers and the ruled directed their views to this object, they would do more to ameliorate the condition of mankind, and enjoy a more peaceable and bloodless victory, than by engaging in the contests of "the tented field." Nay, by such measures internal security would be best promoted, and foreign annoyance more effectually frustrated. For a people happy at home would be less likely to wish for a change of situation in hopes of bettering their condition. But unhappily governors too generally think they have a distinct interest from the people, and what is gained by them is lost to them-

selves. They consider that a kind of glory, false, however, unstable and short-lived in its nature, is reflected on them by the military achievements carried on under their auspices, and in a time of war they have favourable pretexts for laying additional taxes on the people, and thus increasing their patronage and emolument by "the cheese-parings of office," by which the cheese itself, the property of the people, is often essentially diminished.

As a plan for removing a grievance, which presses heavily on the poorer classes of the community, we may refer to the subject of tithes as taken up by some counties during the present year. The county of Kerry led the way by a petition to parliament, and the Grand Jury of the county Armagh, at the spring assizes of the present year, unanimously instructed their representatives to support a modification of the tithe system in parliament, and alledged that exorbitant demands have been made by some of the clergy and their proctors in collecting tithe, "to the very great oppression of their parishioners, and tending at this time, in particular, to detach the minds of his Majesty's subjects from their loyalty and attachment."

To this address the beneficed clergy of the county Armagh reply, by calling upon the late grand jury to substantiate their charges, and as is common to those who have a bad cause, they endeavour to draw off attention from their own proceedings, by attempting to inculpate others, and instead of defending themselves on the merits of their case, allude to the rise of rents and county rates, as a set off against the landlords and grand jurors. At the summer assizes, fourteen of the grand jury had the resolution to support the address of the former grand jury, and in answer to the beneficed clergy, being forced into a controversy about particular facts, they published an affidavit supporting an instance of an exorbitant rate of tithe demanded in the neighbourhood of Newry. It is not our business to enter into this local controversy, but to take up the subject on more general grounds.

We dislike the attempt, not only practised on this occasion, but also very generally by the advocates for tithe, to render the subject more complex, by blending with it other supposed grievances. County taxes are sometimes, nay, perhaps often improvidently levied, but if the clergy are seriously disposed to have the public burthen in this respect alleviated, let them then honestly bring it forward as a subject of separate consideration. As to the rents, there appears no way of public interference, except by a violation of private property, and an attempt at establishing an agrarian system. We cannot suppose the clergy are serious in this plan, and that their view can be only to distract the public attention from looking too closely into the present mode of collecting tithe.

Let us take a short review of this subject, considered by itself. It is an oppressive tax on agriculture, and tends to prevent the improvement of land. From the manner of its being levied, it is partial in its operation; as in many counties where grazing is mostly followed, in consequence of the absurd vote of agistment, the burthen falls almost exclusively on the small farm of the poor cotter, while the wealthy grazier pays a very small proportion. It differs from rent, which latter is of a more fixed kind, so that the occupier knows what he has to pay during his lease; while if even a lease of tithe is given, it is only during incumbency, and we know that the clerical body are not unacquainted with the means of exchanging livings, by which they can lay aside a bargain of this kind, if they suppose it to militate against their interest.

But over and above all these considerations, a greater hardship still remains. Many of the inhabitants of this country, and in many places the poorer classes, especially, are not members of the establishment. These are peculiarly inconvenienced by having to support their own clergy, and pay tithe to a priesthood of whose instruction they do not participate. To give an instance near at home, in the island of Rathlin, on the northern coast of this county, out of about one hundred and forty families, who a few years ago inhabited this island, upwards of one

hundred and thirty were Catholics. These paid 100*l.* per annum to their own priest, and thirteen-fourteenths of another 100*l.* per annum to the Protestant rector. In many other parishes in Ireland, the proportion of Catholic inhabitants, it is presumed, bears a proportion equally great. Is not this a grievance in many cases, bearing peculiarly hard on the poorer classes of our population.

On the subject of the hereditary claim of tithes, the clergy have no right to immutability. No one is born a bishop or a rector. In this point of view the usufructuary claimants of tithe stand on grounds essentially different from the proprietors of hereditary property.

In the general demand for investigation into the late transactions in Portugal, we observe, not without some degree of self-debasement, the total silence of this country. Yet Irish soldiers have fought and bled and conquered at Vimiera. Ireland has had its share of the triumph and cannot but participate in the disgrace; the character also of an Irish officer is involved; an officer holding a high official station in his native country; if unjustly involved in the disgrace of others, ought we not to demand an inquiry for the public declaration of his innocence; if justly implicated, ought we not to call aloud for an inquiry which would satisfy the injured feelings of a nation, whose darling birth-right is unimpeached valour, and a high-wrought sense of inborn honour. Yet Ireland is silent....neither a feeling of native dignity, nor the example of a sister kingdom has roused her from a state of torpid apathy.

.....Alas! poor country,
Almost afraid to know itself!.....

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

Decree of the King of Holland, revoking the permission to export certain commodities. 17*th, Oct.* 1808.

"I. All exportation is suspended until further orders.

"II. The superintendance of the coast shall be divided into three districts: 1. From the Helder to the island of Walcheren, shall be commanded by General Dumonceau. 2. From the Helder to Harlingen by Admiral De Winter. 3. From Harlingen to the Jahde, by General Castanet.

"III. The commanding Generals shall be personally responsible for the execution of the existing measures relating to the *total shutting* of the ports of the kingdom, the communication with the enemy, as well as for all those we may hereafter order. There shall be a daily report made by them to the minister, or *immediately* to the King; and they are required to give an account of the negligence or disinclination of the civil and military agents.

"IV. All fishing boats shall be compelled to return to the place from whence they sailed, and they shall not be admitted any where else, even under the pretence that they have received damage. If they shall be found to have any proofs of having communicated with the enemy on board, such as strangers not belonging to their crews; the least package of merchandize of any kind; letters or newspapers, they shall become the property of the civil or military authorities who assist in seizing them, as soon as the legality of the seizure shall have been determined by the Judge, who must pronounce a definitive sentence in the course of fifteen days at farthest.

"V. All merchant vessels, whether bearing the Dutch or a foreign flag, which shall attempt to enter any of the harbours or roads in the above-mentioned districts, shall be warned off by a boat, and apprized that they will be fired upon if they attempt to enter.

The President Jefferson's Answer to the Dissent of the Republicans from the Proceedings of the Town of Boston, relative to the Embargo.

"I have duly received the address of that portion of the citizens of Boston who have declared their approbation of the present suspension of our commerce, and their dissent from the representation of those of the same place, who wished its removal. A division of sentiment was not unexpected: on no question can a perfect unanimity be hoped, or certainly it would have been on that between war and embargo, the only alternatives presented to our choice; for the general capture of our vessels would have been war upon one side, which reason and interest would repel by war and reprisal on our part.

"Of the several interests, comprising those of the United States, that of manufactures would of course prefer to war a state of non-intercourse so favourable to their rapid growth and prosperity.